A

SERMON

PREACHED ON

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY the 23d, 1794.

BY

Jeremiah Joyce,

Twenty-three Weeks a *close* Priſoner in the TOWER of LONDON.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING AN

ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR'S ARREST

FOR

"TREASONABLE PRACTICES;"

His Examination before

His Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council;

HIS COMMITMENT TO THE

TOWER,

AND

SUBSEQUENT TREATMENT.

TOGETHER WITH

REMARKS ON THE SPEECHES

OF

MR. WINDHAM, &c.

Ita cuique eveniat, ut de republica meruit.——CICERO.

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED AND ENLARGED.

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PREFACE.

THE following Sermon has none of thoſe merits which can render it deſerving of public attention; it was very haſtily compoſed, and preached without the moſt diſtant view to publication. The circumſtances of my own arreſt, and impriſonment, are the only motives which have induced me to draw any ſhare of the public notice to myſelf. Perhaps the ſituation in which I now ſtand may apologize, in ſome degree, for a publication, which, under any other circumſtances would never have been ſent to the preſs.

The duties of a preacher I was ſeldom called to perform, and having but little leiſure

upon

upon my hands, I was accuſtomed, on ſuch occaſions, to deliver the ſermons I had by me, rather than employ myſelf in writing new ones.

Being deſired to ſupply the place of my much eſteemed friend Mr. Jervis, I determined upon delivering a diſcourſe which might, in ſome meaſure, be ſuitable to the times. — Every perſon muſt have obſerved, that amidſt the important diſcuſſions of the day, the evidences of the Chriſtian religion are neglected, and that among perſons of every deſcription, it appears to be growing into faſhion to treat the pretenſions of Chriſt, to the character of a *divine law-giver*, as undeſerving of a deliberate examination.

The ſentiments of wiſe and reflecting men ought, at all times, to be liſtened to with attention, and conſidered with impartiality. Of this deſcription there are many, who willingly admit the exiſtence of ſuch a perſon as Jeſus Chriſt, who pay high reſpect to his

virtues

virtues, and who reverence the energy and benevolence of the talents which he displayed; but they will allow him no claim to the character of an inspired prophet. They consider him as having been a great reformer of the corruptions of the age in which he lived; as having employed all his powers to enlighten an ignorant, and, in many respects, an infatuated people, and as cheerfully submitting to a cruel death, rather than abandon the principles he had been promulgating.

To these opinions, as far as they go, every Christian will give his assent; but they farther add, that the evidences for the divine mission of Christ carry with them such conviction as cannot easily be resisted, if examined with impartiality. They regard him as one commissioned, not only, to *reform* the world, but whose principal business it was to declare the existence of a future state; and they conceive that, in order to give effect to his preaching, he was endowed with miracu-

lous powers, and the gift of fore-knowledge, by the exercise of which, he might demonstrate to mankind the authenticity of his mission.

The Christian doctrine, then, if it be founded in truth, must be of infinite importance to the human species, and will justify every attempt to illustrate its nature, and explain the evidences upon which it is believed: and although it is impossible in a single discourse to enter at *large* into the reasons of our faith, yet it is easy to select particular branches of the subject, which are well adapted to popular discussion. Such is the inquiry into the title which Christ has to the claim of *inspiration*, from the *prophecies* which he delivered.

The particular prediction which stands at the head of this sermon, is well calculated for that purpose, and, at the same time, affords a favorable opportunity of holding up the conduct of our Lord, as worthy of

imitation to perſons of every age, who may be called to ſuffer for the cauſe of truth.

To derive the full benefit of his example, he muſt be conſidered as one, ſubject to the ſame wants, and endowed with the ſame feelings, and paſſions with ourſelves. In his exertions, and ſufferings, we muſt regard him as the promulgator of certain doctrines, which he conceived eſſential to the happineſs of mankind, and as having attacked with boldneſs and energy, every corruption which oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of thoſe doctrines. We muſt view him contending againſt the exertions of *power*, by the more powerful weapons of *reaſon* and *truth*; and after having employed every effort for the advancement of human happineſs, falling a ſacrifice to the treachery of one of his own aſſociates.

In ſimilar ſituations the pattern of Chriſt may afford uſeful inſtruction to all his followers. His zeal and fidelity in public life; —his attachment to his friends;—his for-

bearance towards his enemies;—and his univerſal benevolence and philanthropy, may challenge the minuteſt attention.

The hiſtory of Jeſus Chriſt is more eſpecially intereſting in ſeaſons of real or apprehended danger. The contemplation of his fortitude in ſuffering has inſpired the martyr with joy, while languiſhing in his cell, or expiring at the ſtake. The recollection of his patient reſignation has infuſed the ſame temper into many an humble diſciple when ſuffering in a ſimilar cauſe.—At the period when the following diſcourſe was delivered, the aſpect of the times rendered it not altogether improbable, that the zeal and fortitude of the friends to freedom, and to truth, might ſoon be brought to the teſt.

For without alluding to that eagerneſs which perſons of certain deſcriptions have manifeſted in ſuppreſſing the ſpirit of free inquiry, once the boaſt of Engliſhmen; or to the ſevere and even unexampled puniſh-

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ments which have been inflicted upon thoſe who have dared to exerciſe it as their *right*, there were reaſons ſufficiently ſtrong to awaken the ſerious deliberation of every human being.

The general ſtate of Europe and its dependencies;—the alarming and calamitous war in which moſt of its powers had involved themſelves;—a war which has for its object not the conqueſt of one particular province, or a ſingle kingdom, but the total ſubjugation of the *human mind*, appeared to multitudes, as well as to myſelf, pregnant with the moſt momentous events.

In ſuch circumſtances the *feebleſt* exertions in ſupport of the cauſe of virtue may not be without their effect. The well-meant endeavours of every individual may be ſerviceable at a criſis ſo awful as that which we may be called to contemplate.

To the benefit of my fellow-citizens have all my *public* exertions been directed; their benefit, and not my own popularity, or aggran-

grandizement, has been the motive which has influenced me to encounter difficulties, and to ſubmit to conſiderable hardſhips: and now, under the impreſſion of an indictment *found* againſt me for HIGH TREASON, I can review my paſt conduct with tranquillity, and even with ſatisfaction. I can recollect no *political* effort of my life which can create in my breaſt one moment's uneaſineſs: not one, which, in the ſincerity of my ſoul, I do not approve. The exertions of active life afford no ſmall conſolation, in the gloomy ſolitude of a priſon. The pleaſure of having endeavoured to live for one's country, no reverſe of circumſtances can ever obliterate. In humble ſubmiſſion, therefore, to the will of the Governor of the univerſe, I wait the event of an approaching public trial at the bar of my country.

To my COUNTRY, and to HEAVEN, I appeal with confidence, demanding of the *one*, impartial juſtice only; and relying upon the

other

other for every needful ſupport. Whether *Life*, or *Death* be before me, in either caſe I doubt not, but that the event will be beneficial to the world. For *this*, and not for myſelf alone, I received my original exiſtence; to this end I have endeavoured to live; and for the ſake of this, I hope, if called upon, I can cheerfully lay down my life.

Oct. 23, 1794,
Being the twenty-third Week of
my *cloſe* impriſonment
in the TOWER of LONDON.

A SER-

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SERMON.

MARK xiv. 27.

ALL YE SHALL BE OFFENDED BECAUSE OF ME THIS NIGHT.

MANY perſons of conſiderable eminence in the Literary World have contended, that the evidence for Chriſtianity founded on *Prophecy* is the only infallible criterion by which we may judge of its divine original. If, indeed, we were limited to one ſpecies of evidence only, it ſhould ſeem that either the accompliſhment of predictions clearly and accurately ſtated, or the demonſtrative nature of miraculous powers, would be abundantly ſufficient to ſatisfy the moſt ſcrupulous inquirers after truth.

It is however of no ſmall importance, that, on a ſubject of ſuch moment, and ſo generally intereſting, the ſpecies of evidence ſhould be various, and adapted to different capacities. There are ſome perſons who may be diſpoſed to receive conviction of the divine miſſion of Chriſt, from the *miraculous* gifts by which he was commiſſioned to make known the powers and perfections of his Almighty Father. Others, by an accurate acquaintance with the Scriptures, would be able to eſtimate the character of Jeſus from the *predictions* of the Old Teſtament, which foretold the advent of a ſuffering Meſſiah; and by comparing theſe prophecies with the hiſtory of the deſpiſed Nazarene, as recorded by the Evangeliſts, would be ſatisfied that he was indeed the Chriſt, the Saviour of men. And there may be ſome who, reſiſting both the former ſpecies of evidence, will, nevertheleſs, ſee ſufficient cauſe to believe in the divine miſſion of Jeſus from the accurate accompliſhment of thoſe *prophecies*, concerning himſelf, which he occaſionally delivered during his miniſtry, and which were regularly verified by his ſufferings and death.

Without

Without attempting to form an eſtimate of the comparative excellence of theſe different kinds of evidence, we intend in this diſcourſe,

FIRST.—To ſhew that the knowledge of futurity belongs to GOD alone, and is communicated by him to his ſervants for ſpecial purpoſes.

SECONDLY.—We ſhall direct your attention to the particular prediction of Chriſt recorded in the text.——"*All ye ſhall be offended becauſe of me this night.*"—And then,

THIRDLY.—Conclude with ſome inferences ſuitable to our ſubject, and adapted to the times in which we live.

I. We are to ſhew that the knowledge of futurity belongs to GOD alone, and is communicated by him to his ſervants for ſpecial purpoſes.

In the Scriptures GOD is emphatically ſtiled the "*God of knowledge.*" He poſſeſſes every ſpecies of knowledge; he comprehends the nature of all things, whence they are derived, and the purpoſes for which they are introduced into the reſpective places they hold in creation.

Had not the Creator underſtood every poſſible circumſtance relating to his works, or in other words, had he not poſſeſſed the moſt perfect and unlimited foreknowledge, there could never have exiſted that harmony and uniformity which are every where diſplayed in the vaſt ſyſtem of Nature.

This poſition may be illuſtrated by circumſtances which are familiar to daily obſervation. Does the mechanic begin to form his machine without firſt underſtanding the effects it is intended to produce? If he did not comprehend the purpoſes for which it was deſigned, how could he diſcern the cauſes neceſſary to its exiſtence? He muſt not only know all the various parts which will make up the whole piece, but muſt perfectly underſtand their exact proportions. He will alſo foreſee, and provide for the principal defects to which his machine may, in the courſe of time, be liable, and, by a proper diviſion, and arrangement of its ſeveral parts, ſo conſtruct it, that it may be repaired at the leaſt expenſe of time and labour. And, if his operations be tolerably perfect, he will ſet ſuch a limit to his labour, as ſhall enable him to effect in a given work, the greateſt ad-

vantages

vantages with the fewest inconveniences. To attain, however, this degree of excellence, it is evident that he must possess foreknowledge in a limited degree, which, when considered *universally*, constitutes an attribute of Jehovah.

That the works of the Almighty are perfect is a position which, we apprehend, few will hesitate to admit; at any rate, we have the testimony of the wisest among the human race, of those who have paid the greatest attention in investigating the order of Nature, when we affirm, in the language of Scripture, "*That not one of the works of the most High* "*God faileth.*" They all answer the designs for which they were created, and consequently were created in wisdom, and directed by the most perfect prescience. Did we accustom ourselves to study Nature as it is, we should readily admit that these assertions are just.

When, for instance, we consider that the glorious luminary the sun, with all its amazing splendor, could have afforded but few enjoyments to the inhabitants of the earth without an atmosphere to reflect and disperse its rays, we naturally conclude that the Power which

which called the *one* into exiſtence, foreſaw the neceſſity of the *other* to render it beneficial in the higheſt degree. Again, how could man have exiſted in this atmoſphere, had not his Maker planted *within* him certain powers which ſhould balance the preſſure that is *without*? To what purpoſe would the eye have been ſo delicately formed, had not the particles of light been ſmall beyond all finite conception? Or the ear ſo curiouſly adapted to receive impreſſions from external objects, without the air as a proper medium to convey ſound? Such methods of reaſoning will carry along with them abundant conviction, that "GOD *is a God of knowledge*," and that his knowledge extends to the future, as well as the preſent and the paſt. Did he not poſſeſs this ſpecies of knowledge, what aſſurance could his creatures have that the ſeeming diſorders which are permitted to take place in his creation, would not terminate in the deſtruction of every thing great and excellent? But relying on the preſcience of the Deity, we may reſt ſatisfied that for every deviation, or apparent deviation from what we call right, he has provided an adequate remedy, and that out of partial evil he will bring forth general

neral happineſs. We are, indeed, happy that we have this ſolid foundation on which we may reſt; in Iſaiah xliv, and 7th verſe, God is repreſented as ſaying, "*I am the firſt* "*and the laſt, and beſides me there is no* "God; *I ſet in order the things that are com-* "*ing, and that ſhall come.*" And in the xlvith chapter—"*I am* God, *and there is* "*none like me, declaring the end from the* "*beginning, and from ancient times, things* "*that are not yet done, ſaying, my counſel* "*ſhall ſtand, and I will do all my pleaſure.*" This language is applicable to him only who is infinite in all his attributes; he ſees the end from the beginning, he therefore knows the means which are beſt adapted to the accompliſhment of his own deſigns, and hence he ſays, "*My counſel ſhall ſtand, I will do all my* "*pleaſure.*"

We infer, then, that God poſſeſſes foreknowledge in the moſt unlimited and univerſal ſenſe; and although it belongs to him alone thus comprehenſively, yet by conſulting the Scriptures we ſhall find, that on proper occaſions he has communicated of this ſpirit to ſuch of his ſervants as have been

commiſſioned to declare his will to the inhabitants of the world.

The ſpirit of prophecy, which is but the gift of preſcience, has ever been eſteemed one of the criteria by which men may diſtinguiſh between the perſon who unwarrantably aſſumes to himſelf the character of a Prophet, and him who is really a ſervant, of Jehovah. Thus in Deuteronomy, xviiith chapter, the character is preciſely drawn—"*When a prophet ſpeaks in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to paſs, that is the thing the Lord has not ſpoken.*" Here, then, is a rule laid down to determine what credit is due to any perſon aſſuming the prophetical character; if the thing that he propoſes, *follow not*, he has no claim to our confidence.

Whoever, therefore, undertakes to foretell the hidden events of futurity without inſpiration from above, is but a deceiver; he arrogates to himſelf the prerogative of GOD, and having no means by which he may ſupport his pretenſions, will finally meet with the contempt due to his folly.

It ought not, however, to paſs entirely unnoticed, that a ſtrong mind, long accuſtomed

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to obſervation and reflection, may perceive, in many inſtances, the connection of cauſe and effect, and by hazarding his conjectures, acquire to himſelf, in ſome meaſure, a reputation for foreſight. Or a perſon much converſant in the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament may explain certain predictions contained in thoſe writings; and *events* may prove his explanation accurate, but this is very different from that fore-knowledge which diſtinguiſhes the ſervants of GOD. Of the former, every perſon may acquire to himſelf more or leſs, according to his intellectual endowments; but the latter is only the gift of GOD for particular and ſpecial purpoſes. Whence it ſhould ſeem, that the fore-knowledge of Moſes and the Prophets under the Old Diſpenſation, and of Chriſt and the Apoſtles under the New, extended only to the immediate objects of their miſſion, that it neither related to *all* things, nor extended to *all* times. Indeed our Lord has aſſured us in the moſt poſitive terms, that in one inſtance, at leaſt, his Preſcience was limited.* It is ſufficient, however, for us to know, that

* Mark xiii. 32.

as far as concerned his miſſion, he was abundantly qualified with all knowledge.

II. We ſhall direct your attention to that particular prediction recorded in the text; "*All ye ſhall be offended becauſe of me this* "*night.*"

It has already been obſerved, that occaſions frequently ariſe in which perſons of underſtanding and reflection are enabled to judge of future events, from the due conſideration of circumſtances that are preſent, or paſt. But in ſuch caſes there are known rules of judging, rules which are common to all, though underſtood only by thoſe who are habituated to diligent obſervation.

To illuſtrate our meaning by a very familiar caſe;—of two perſons in ſimilar ſituations, the *one* ſhall, from the temperature and preſſure of the atmoſphere in the morning, be able very accurately to aſcertain what will be the ſtate of the weather through the day; while the *other*, inattentive to the laws and operations of nature, can pretend to nothing farther than conjecture. Knowledge, however, of this kind depends not on the *future*, but is built on *paſt experience*.

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The prediction of Chriſt which is now under our conſideration, is of a very different nature, and the event foretold was *contrary* to expectation. The hiſtory of human nature will, it is true, furniſh examples enough of a man being deſerted by his deareſt connections in the hour of danger, nor is it ſilent with regard to the treachery of pretended friends.

But it ſeems to have been reſerved for the hiſtorians of the New Teſtament, to record the fact, that of twelve perſons under ſingular obligations of gratitude, eleven of whom were, without doubt, real and true friends, not one ſhould remain faithful to his truſt.

The circumſtances of the caſe will merit ſome conſideration. It was at the laſt ſocial meeting between Chriſt and his twelve diſciples, that he took occaſion to announce to them that his diſſolution was at hand. To all except Judas the event appears to have been unexpected, and even the traitor, till the declaration of Chriſt, had probably no idea that his treachery would terminate in the death of him whom he was to deliver into the hands of the Jews. The prediction of ſo ſpeedy an end, and of the villainy of one

of the choſen few, ſeems to have outraged the feelings of thoſe who heard it, and who were rather waiting for the triumph of the Meſſiah, than looking for his crucifixion. Their ſorrow and anxiety, however, leave us no room to doubt that they paid proper attention to the aſſertions of their Lord, when, in that ſolemn moment, he aſſured them, that he was about to be betrayed by *one*, and deſerted by *all* thoſe whom he had ſelected for the participation of his peculiar eſteem and friendſhip. And it may eaſily be imagined, that Peter would not be ſingular in refuſing his aſſent to circumſtances ſo improbable. It is more difficult to conceive of any perſon who ſhould not, in a ſimilar ſituation, have exclaimed, "*though all theſe be offended be-*
"*cauſe of thee, yet will I never be offended.*" The language was expreſſive of a mind indignant at the idea of baſe ingratitude, and alive to ſentiments of affection in remembrance of the many inſtances of paſt kindneſs. And one may naturally ſuppoſe, that but few perſons, who have not abandoned every claim to integrity, could endure to be told, that they would defert a friend and benefactor in his diſtreſs; much leſs could they

believe, that, to deſertion would be added the aggravating circumſtances of denying that they had ever known him. Yet ſuch was the prophetic warning of Chriſt, that before the dawn of another day Judas would betray, —Peter deny,—and the remaining ten abandon him to the malice of his enemies. No human foreſight could have predicted ſo many improbable events, which, we find, were accurately verified by ſucceeding facts.

The events themſelves were not only improbable, but concurrent circumſtances would render their accompliſhment almoſt impoſſible.

The very prediction which had been announced to them, might, one ſhould have expected, have put them into the poſture of defence, and fortified their minds againſt ſuch treachery. The ſhort interval of only a few hours between the prediction and its fulfilment, and the continued preſence of Chriſt with his diſciples, are reaſons why it is not likely that they would ſo far forget their duty as to abandon their friend and inſtructor in the trying moment of danger. Notwithſtanding which, we find Judas, who had been bribed as a *ſpy* and *informer*, acted the

part

part worthy of his character; Peter did deny all knowledge of the perſon whom he had engaged to defend; and the reſt retired from the ſcene of action, leaving the whole weight of ſuffering to fall on the head of Chriſt.

Did no friendly thought remind them, as they fled from the ſorrows of their friend, that they were deſerting one, who had formed their minds to virtue by his inſtructions; who had often ſupplied their wants by his power, and ſoothed their troubled breaſts in affliction?—Did no ſecret monitor bring to their recollection the declarations of the preceding evening?—Could they ſee, without emotions of ſelf-reproach, their Lord led to a *mock* trial (for in all ages there have been mock trials) without any one to attend him ſave Peter, diſtracted between the ſhame which he felt at the idea of forſaking his Lord, and the dread of encountering the face of danger? Of all thoſe whom he had benefited none were to be found, except a few of what it is cuſtomary to call the weaker ſex, who had courage to attend him in his laſt ſcenes. Hence the prediction in the text, in itſelf ſo improbable, and attended by circumſtances which rendered

rendered its fulfilment almoſt impoſſible, was, nevertheleſs, completely accompliſhed.

III. We ſhall now conclude with ſome reflections connected with our ſubject, and adapted to the times in which we live.

1ſt. We may hence learn to truſt leſs in ourſelves, and to rely more on the power of God to preſerve us from the evil of temptation.

When Chriſt foretold the diſgraceful timidity of his diſciples, they all, with the exception of Judas, certainly ſuppoſed that their virtue and conſtancy could not fail them. The horror which they felt at the idea of denying or deſerting their friend, led them to new profeſſions of their integrity and zeal in his ſervice. But what were their reſolutions? To how little did their proteſtations amount? In the evening they conſidered themſelves ſecure againſt the temptations that might aſſault them. The next morning bore its teſtimony to the weakneſs of their hearts, by proclaiming the timidity of their conduct. All the virtues of Jeſus—the miracles they had ſeen him perform—the various benefits they had received at his hands, could not animate their courage in the moment of danger. When perſe-

perſecution looked them in the face, then they ſought a retreat from its fury, without any regard to him who muſt endure its whole weight, and to the ſupport of whoſe cauſe they had ſo lately pledged themſelves.

May not danger diſmay us alſo, ſhould we, at any time, be called to the exerciſe of our fortitude in the cauſe of truth? Can we promiſe ourſelves that our virtue is ſufficiently ſtrong to animate us in the diſcharge of our known duty, to render us ſtedfaſt to our principles when *power* would affright, or *pleaſure* allure us from the path of rectitude? If ſuch be our perſuaſion, let us beware of too great confidence; the example before us ought to impreſs upon our minds that we alſo are men and ſubject to human infirmities. In the hour of ſecurity we may, like the diſciples, feel indignant at the thought of treachery to a friend, or the deſertion of a good cauſe; and with Hazael aſk, "*Is thy ſervant a dog "that he ſhould commit this great evil?*" Yet, unleſs our dependance be on a power higher than ourſelves, ſome future period may witneſs our weakneſs, and expoſe our failings, as their's were alſo expoſed.

Could

Could we impreſs upon our hearts, the dangers by which we are ſurrounded; frequently bring to recollection the multitudes who have been ſeduced from the paths of virtue and honour, that once meant as well as any of us; could we read their hiſtory, and learn by how eaſy ſteps they have deſcended to the abyſs of vice; they would furniſh leſſons of humility, and would infallibly lead us to a firmer reliance on Jehovah, who is alone able to keep us unſpotted from the world, and render us inſtruments for the advancement of human happineſs.

2dly. The advantages which Chriſtianity offers ought not haſtily to be rejected.

The foregoing diſcuſſion deſerves attention as a branch of the evidence of our holy religion. If Chriſt were endowed with that fore-knowledge which the text ſuppoſes, it is no light argument that he received his commiſſion from Heaven; that he was indeed the prophet of the moſt high God, and ſent into the world for the moſt benevolent purpoſes. And if there be any evidence offered in teſtimony to the divinity of his miſſion, its importance may claim of every wiſe man, a ſerious, diligent, and impartial examination.

From a variety of cauſes, which we have no need to enumerate, it ſhould ſeem that but little attention is paid to the merits of Chriſtianity. We might certainly decide otherwiſe, were we to form our judgment from the declamations which have been lately pronounced againſt irreligion and atheiſm. The energy with which our ſenators and divines have denounced a great and mighty people, emphatically branding them as "*a* "*nation of Atheiſts*;" the mark they have ſet upon them as men whoſe deſigns are avowedly to extirpate from the earth all religion, and, as "*deſpiſers of* GOD," would lead one to imagine that *here* the Chriſtian religion is well underſtood, and better practiſed. But when we look around us, as men reaſoning on facts as they really are, the ſtate of religion, *even here*, is not ſo flouriſhing, nor the mild ſpirit of its founder ſo thoroughly imbibed, as to juſtify us in becoming accuſers of the brethren.

Is infidelity unknown in this highly favoured iſland? Can London bear her teſtimony that no avowed atheiſts tread her ſtreets? Are there none among our Britiſh youth who hold religion in ſcorn? None in more advanced

vanced years who reverence it no farther than it will anſwer ſome ſtate deſigns? The true anſwers to theſe inquiries will not be very favourable. It is notorious that infidelity is making rapid ſtrides among our countrymen; that the avowal of atheiſm is no uncommon thing; and that by multitudes Chriſtianity is treated with contempt, or regarded as a mere ally to the ſtate. With confidence, however, it may be aſſerted, that, in general, the perſons who lightly eſteem revelation, are thoſe who have never examined it on its own merits.

It remains, then, for us to conſider, whether we ſhall imitate the example of ſuch perſons, or whether in juſtice to ourſelves we ſhould not carefully inveſtigate the foundation of Chriſtianity before we boldly reject it as unworthy of GOD to beſtow, and man to receive. We may alſo be inſtructed by one, who, in an eloquent ſpeech, has aſſerted, that "*he who defends atheiſm gives abſolution "to ſuperſtition;*" they are both the offspring of one common parent, *Ignorance*; the *one* profeſſes to believe every contradiction; the *other*, by affecting to believe nothing, gives

credit to the greateſt of all poſſible abſurdities.

Finally. In the view of impending danger the example of Chriſt ſhould excite us to conſtancy and firmneſs.

Perhaps in no point of view does the conduct of our Lord appear to greater advantage than in his laſt ſufferings. The Scriptures will warrant us in ſuppoſing that he certainly knew *what death*, and *when* he ſhould die; yet he finiſhed the work for which he came into the world with dignity and compoſure. He did not fear what man could do unto him. Knowing that the moſt dreadful tortures which human wickedneſs can inflict, are but of ſhort duration, he was ſteady to his purpoſe until he had accompliſhed all his Father's will.

Confident that his end was approaching he warns his diſciples of their cowardice; he prays for their reſtoration, and ſeeks in retirement for that ſupport and conſolation which the world cannot confer. When on the point of being delivered to the civil power, his language is that of firmneſs, "*The hour* "*is at hand;*" he does not ſhrink from his poſt. The treachery of a diſciple does not

betray him into expreſſions of indignation, nor bow him down in deſpondency. In his laſt ſufferings were mingled every thing that could inſult; every thing that could depreſs a ſenſible mind; yet he was not over anxious that the bitter cup ſhould paſs away; but was contented to ſuffer the tortures of crucifixion; in the full perſuaſion that his death would be of advantage to the cauſe in which he had embarked, and for the ſake of which he was about to lay down his life.

Should it be our lot to ſuffer, in any reſpect, for the cauſe of truth, it will be well for us if we can enjoy the conſolation of conſcious integrity; if we have the happineſs of knowing that we have been actuated by no ſiniſter motives, but have in all our aims directed our zeal and talents to the advancement of the general good.

In proportion to the purity of our intentions, we may hope for ſupport in the trying hour of adverſity. Fortified by ſuch principles, the fear of man will not deter us from our duty; the diſcharge of our conſcience towards God and our fellow creatures will be our principal concern.

It is not my province to ſound the trumpet of alarm: "*ſufficient to the day is the evil "thereof.*" One thing, however, is deſerving of attention; that general expectation is looking for times of uncommon importance. In this aſſertion we are not building upon the conjectures of wild enthuſiaſm. The opinion that we are drawing near to an eventful period is almoſt univerſal.

It may be, that danger and diſtreſs are ſtanding at our doors; it is time, therefore, to conſider whether we are prepared to act our parts with patience and dignity. Whether we are ready to ſuſtain every thing which *power* can inflict, rather than diſgrace the cauſe in which we have embarked by a ſubmiſſion to baſe and ſervile motives.

The ſigns of the times muſt preſent, to every conſiderate perſon, an aſpect as ſolemn and awful as the world ever witneſſed. It is not, perhaps, hazarding too much, when we aſſert that the events of the preſent æra involve in them every thing that is important to the human race. That the termination will be favourable to the progreſs of civil and moral improvement is an expectation we have a right to form. But we have no reaſon to

believe,

believe, or even hope, that ſuch improvement can be accompliſhed, without many a ſacrifice on the part of thoſe, who are willing to ſtand in the foremoſt ranks of oppoſition to the baneful influence of error. But if the line of duty and rectitude be in thoſe ranks, we ought not to abandon the poſt in compliance with preſent eaſe and intereſt, nor be intimidated through the dread of man. It is our buſineſs to purſue what is right, and leave the event to him whoſe deciſions are founded in equity.

We are not ignorant that ſome are already ſuffering for their attachment to principles which they believed would tend to the happineſs of the world,—principles which ſome twelve years ſince would have lead to *honors* inſtead of *exile*. But they repine not, they have confidence towards GOD, and their hope will endure to the end.* It may be reſerved for

* A few days before this Sermon was delivered, Mr. THOMAS MUIR, the Rev. THOMAS FYSCHE PALMER, Mr. WILLIAM SKIRVING, and Mr. MAURICE MARGAROT, ſailed down the river for BOTANY BAY, purſuant

for us to follow them in *similar*, or even *severer* trials; if so, may we in that day enjoy the

suant to the sentence of the *High Court of Justiciary in* EDINBURGH. The offence proved upon them, appears to have been an active zeal for a reform in the Commons House of Parliament; a zeal which but a few years since introduced Mr. Pitt, the Duke of Richmond, and others, into situations of the highest importance and responsibility in the country.

With Mr. Margarot I was not in the smallest degree acquainted; Mr. Skirving I had seen twice or thrice; but the unexceptionable characters of the other gentlemen, together with the amiableness of their deportment, to which I had several times been a witness, impressed me with a deep sense of their integrity, of the purity of their intentions, and of the disinterestedness of their political exertions; to which impressions must be attributed my attachment to their persons, and my zeal to render the inconveniencies and hardships of a long and dreary voyage as *few* as possible; and *not* to an approbation of the proceedings of the "*British Convention*," with which assembly neither Mr. Muir nor Mr. Palmer had the least connection, and with the transactions of which I was never acquainted till after the publication of the "*Reports of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons.*"

On a similar principle the "*Society for Constitutional* "*Information*" voted the following consolatory address to the

the conſolation which is only to be derived from an approving conſcience.—May we

the above named gentlemen. Such, at leaſt, were the views of the original mover of the addreſs, and it is believed, of the majority of the ſociety.

An ADDRESS to Messrs. MUIR, &c.

Friends *and* Fellow Citizens,

ALTHOUGH we have hitherto been the ſilent, yet we have by no means been the unconcerned ſpectators of your conduct and ſufferings. We have ſeen and approved of your exertions for your country's happineſs—We have marked with honeſt indignation, every ſtep which your enemies have taken to bring you to your preſent ſituation. Your enemies are the enemies of Public Liberty, the men who are conſpiring againſt the happineſs of mankind. The cauſe in which you embarked, and to which you have borne an honourable teſtimony, is worthy of every exertion, and its importance to the world too great, to expect its accompliſhment without oppoſition.

The hiſtory of liberty, for whoſe ſake you are doomed to a long and unmerited exile, will afford in the preſent inſtance, that conſolation which former martyrs to the ſame cauſe have experienced: the conſolation, that you *will not*, you *cannot*, ſuffer in vain.

Men may periſh, but truth will prevail; neither perſecution, nor baniſhment, nor death itſelf, can *finally*

we at all times adapt our minds to the ſituation we are called to fill, and in the cheerful exerciſe

injure the progreſs of thoſe principles which involve the general happineſs of man.

While, therefore, we join every friend to humanity in lamenting what you have *already* endured, and with anxious hearts, anticipate the perils to which you *may* be expoſed in a barren and uncultivated country; we can rejoice that the ſources of happineſs are limited to no place, but are as extenſive as the dominion of GOD; under the protection of that GREAT BEING, may you at all times, and in all places, feel the pleaſure that ariſes from conſcious integrity.

Fellow Citizens, we aſſure you that the memory of your virtues ſhall never be effaced from our breaſts; the cauſe for which you have ſtruggled, is a glorious cauſe, the world that has witneſſed *your exertions*, ſhall witneſs *ours alſo*.

A full and fair repreſentation of the people of Great Britain, we ſeek with all the ardour of men and Britons; for the ſake of which, we are not only ready *to act with vigour and unanimity, but, we truſt, prepared alſo to ſuffer with conſtancy*.

Our beſt wiſhes will ever attend you, and we do believe that the day is not very diſtant, when we ſhall again receive you on the Britiſh ſhores, the welcome children of a FREE and HAPPY COUNTRY.

March 28, 1794.

exercise of an humble submission to the Divine Will, and reliance on the Divine Goodness, be contented with every dispensation of Providence; in the full assurance that all things will ultimately end in good to those who fear God.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

THE author of the preceding diſcourſe, during a long and tedious impriſonment, had projected, and nearly completed, an appeal to his countrymen, reſpecting his political opinions and conduct. When he conceived this deſign, he ſuppoſed, that it would be the only method he ſhould have of vindicating his principles, and of ſhewing to the ſatisfaction of his friends, that the motives by which he had been actuated, in his zeal to obtain a reform in the Commons' Houſe of Parliament, were not inconſiſtent with the peace and good order of ſociety.

Contrary to his expectations, a Bill of Indictment for HIGH TREASON has been preferred, and found againſt him; a public, and, he hopes, an impartial trial, will, therefore, render ſuch an appeal unneceſſary; the inveſtigation which muſt then take place, will, of itſelf, be ſufficient to do away thoſe prejudices, which the bitterneſs of party has endeavoured to accumulate.

Or even ſuppoſing that the temper of the times precluded an impartial hearing, yet the preſent generation, with all its prepoſſeſſions, will paſs away, and poſterity, free from local partialities, will, unqueſtionably, from a faithful detail of every fact, form a juſt, and definitive ſentence, both on the priſoners, and the proſecutors.

Animated with this hope, he cheerfully reſigns to oblivion a ſcheme which he once thought himſelf, in juſtice to his own character, bound to execute. A more mature

deliberation has alſo convinced him, that a reform in the repreſentation depends leſs upon argument, than upon the reſult of the impending trials. Should their termination be *unfavourable*, the public may take a long farewell to every principle of reformation. Reaſon and truth, in that caſe, muſt make way for the operation of power.

The deſire, which many individuals have expreſſed, of knowing the mode which has been purſued in the various ſtages of the preſent public proſecutions, may be a ſufficient inducement to lay before the public at large, a brief narrative of the circumſtances which have attended the apprehenſion and impriſonment of *one* of thoſe confined in the TOWER. The facts, it is true, are *immediately* connected with the caſes of a few individuals only. But it muſt be admitted, that what is applicable to thoſe perſons *now*, may, at no very remote diſtance of time, be intereſting to others: and ſince there can be no ſecurity, that the proceedings for HIGH TREASON will terminate with the perſons already in a ſtate of accuſation; the uſual ſteps which are taken in the treatment of STATE PRISONERS, become of ſufficient moment to engage the general attention.

The neceſſity of ſuch a ſtatement is more apparent, when it is conſidered, that tranſactions of this nature ſeldom happen in a free country. And it muſt reſt with our countrymen, called upon as jurors, to determine whether ſuch *general* charges, as thoſe exhibited againſt the ſeveral priſoners now accuſed of High Treaſon, ſhall hereafter be ſufficient to ſacrifice at the ſhrine of power, the liberties, and the lives of Engliſhmen.

It is ſcarcely neceſſary to premiſe, that on Monday the 12th of May, 1794, early in the morning, Mr. THOMAS HARDY, the Secretary to the "*London Correſponding Society*," was arreſted, and his papers ſeized by a warrant from Mr. Secretary Dundas on a charge of Treaſonable Practices. On the ſame day Mr. DANIEL ADAMS, who had acted, for more than ten years, as Secretary

BRITISH MUSEUM

cretary to the "SOCIETY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION," was apprehended on a similar charge.

It was immediately rumoured, that other persons, connected with those societies, would be favoured with domiciliary visits of this nature, and that I must not expect to escape. Conscious of having never offended against the laws of my country, I treated the report in the same manner as I should have done any other in which I was not immediately concerned. I heard it, and repeated it among my friends; but continued undisturbed, in the exercise of my business, the remainder of that day, and the next, as if no such rumour had been spread.

On Wednesday about eight o'clock in the morning, while I was conversing with Lord Mahon and his two brothers, Mr. KING, the under Secretary of State, and Mr. Ross, one of his Majesty's messengers, were introduced to me, as having some private business to communicate. When the young gentlemen had left the room, Mr. Ross produced a warrant against me for "*Treasonable Practices*," by which he was authorized to seize my person, and all books and papers connected with the "*Society for Constitutional Information*," and the "*London Corresponding Society*." He demanded my keys, and after having searched my pockets and bed-chamber, Mr. KING and himself selected from my drawers and bookcase whatever they pleased.

Among many other articles, which certainly did *not* come under the meaning of their warrant, they carried away with them the trial of Mr. WINTERBOTHAM; two copies of "*Mr. Holt's Vindication, &c.*" the trial of Mr. JOSEPH GERALD, entrusted to my care on the preceding evening; "*Peace and Reform*," by Mr. DANIEL STEWART; a pamphlet on the "*Union of Parties*," by Mr. BIGGE; with several other modern publications.

Between nine and ten I was taken in a coach to Mr. Ross's house, Charles Street, Westminster, where having breakfasted, he wished me to look over, and mark the papers and books which had been brought from my apartments; this I declined, as they had been given to the care of a servant, for some time, as soon as we arrived at his house.

At one o'clock I was ordered before the Privy Council, which was very fully attended; among many others, there were the Lord Chancellor; the Duke of Montroſe; Lord Hawkeſbury; the Earl of Chatham; Lord Auckland; the Marquis of Stafford; Mr. Pitt; Mr. Dundas; the Attorney and Solicitor General.

During the ſpace of about three quarters of an hour, an examination took place, of which the following, I believe, to be a correct account.

Mr. FAWKENER was Clerk of the Council.

Examination of JEREMIAH JOYCE *before his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable* PRIVY COUNCIL,

May 14, 1794.

Mr. Fawkener. What is your name, Sir?

A. Jeremiah Joyce.

Q. Where do you live?

A. At Lord Stanhope's.

Q. What is your profeſſion?

A. I have the care of Lord Stanhope's two elder ſons.

Q. Are you a member of the "*Society for Conſtitutional Information?*"

A. Before I anſwer any other queſtions, I beg leave to inquire of your Lordſhips, whether I may be allowed the aſſiſtance of counſel?

Mr. Dundas. Certainly not.

Mr. Joyce. I muſt, then, beg leave to decline anſwering any other queſtions. And I aſſure your Lordſhips that I do this out of no contempt for your Lordſhips authority; but ſtanding here an *accuſed perſon*, the laws of the country do not, I apprehend, require me to anſwer any interrogatories.

Mr. Dundas. YOU ARE NOT ACCUSED.

Mr. Joyce. I have ſeen a warrant which does accuſe me.

Lord Loughborough. Mr. Fawkener, put the queſtions, and let Mr. Joyce refuſe thoſe he objects to.

Mr. Joyce. My Lord, I wiſh to decline anſwering *all* queſtions whatever, as by anſwering queſtions, in my ſituation, I conceive that I am injuring the conſtitution of my country.

Mr. Dundas. You had better leave the conſtitution to take care of itſelf, and conſider whether it will not be wiſe in you to anſwer the queſtions which are put to you.

Mr. Pitt. Mr. Joyce muſt know that every *good* ſubject will object to no queſtion, which does not tend to criminate himſelf.

Mr. Joyce. I hope, and believe, Sir, that I have ever acted as a good ſubject.

I imagine, my Lords, the reaſon for which I have been brought here, is, that your Lordſhips have found my name in thoſe books, (*pointing to the books belonging to the Society for Conſtitutional Information*) as having been nominated Secretary to a Committee of Correſpondence. In order, therefore, to ſave your Lordſhips time, I beg leave to ſay, that I have never acted as Secretary, either directly, or indirectly.

Q. Did you accept the appointment as Secretary?

A. I decline anſwering that queſtion.

Q. How was the appointment notified to you?

A. By converſation. I do not recollect by whom. It was not in writing.

Q. How long is it ſince you were appointed?

A. I do not know; perhaps three weeks, or a month; I ſhould think not longer.

Q. You have not ſaid whether you are a member of the "*Society for Conſtitutional Information.*"

A. I muſt decline anſwering that queſtion.

Lord Aukland. Does Mr. Joyce imagine that queſtion will involve him in any guilt?

A. I am certain, my Lord, that no queſtion can involve me in guilt. It can be no crime to be a Member of the Society to which the DUKE of RICHMOND formerly belonged.

Q. Were you in the chair at the "*Society for Conſtitutional Information,*" on the 11th of April? and did you at the ſame time make the following report from the chair? (See Appen. C. Reports of the Secret Committee, April 11, 1794.)

A. I decline anſwering that queſtion alſo.

Q. Were you a ſteward to the Anniverſary Dinner of the Society upon the 2d of May?

A. I

A. I decline anſwering this queſtion.

Mr. Pitt. Can that queſtion tend to criminate you?

A. I imagine no guilt can attach to a perſon for being a ſteward to a public dinner.

Attorney General. Certainly not.

Mr. Pitt. Why then does Mr. Joyce refuſe anſwering the queſtion?

A. As far as I am individually concerned, I could not have the ſmalleſt objection to avow it; but the next queſtion might be, Who were the other ſtewards? to which, in honour, I could *not* reply.

Mr. Pitt. By this mode of conduct Mr. Joyce acts in a manner, very different from any other perſon ſtanding in his ſituation.

Mr. Joyce. I am ſorry for it; but I do not think it right to ſet a *precedent* of an *accuſed man* anſwering any queſtions. This is my only reaſon.

Mr. Pitt. Do you know this letter? *

A. I decline anſwering that queſtion.

Lord Loughborough. Let Mr. Joyce read it himſelf. *(the letter given to him.)*

Q. Do you know that letter, Sir?

A. I muſt decline giving any anſwer to that queſtion.

Lord Loughborough. Does Mr. Joyce know what the latter part of that letter *may* mean?

A. The meaning *may* be perfectly ſimple, and perfectly innocent.

Mr. Dundas. He ought to be told the conſequences.

Lord Loughborough. Mr. Joyce ought to know that he ſtands upon the brink of ——, and therefore, in juſtice to himſelf, he will anſwer whether this letter is his, or not?

A. I muſt decline anſwering this and all other queſtions, for the reaſon already ſtated.

* The following is, I think, an accurate copy of the letter alluded to:

DEAR CITIZEN,

This morning, at ſix o'clock, Citizen Hardy was arreſted by an order from the Secretary of State. They took every thing they could lay their hands on.——Query, Is it poſſible to be ready by Thurſday next?

J. H. Tooke, Eſq. Yours, J. JOYCE.
Wimbleton.

Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Pitt. It is not our buſineſs to adviſe Mr. Joyce; but he ſhould well conſider, whether, for his own ſake, he ſhould not anſwer this queſtion.

A. I much doubt, whether, at this time, it be prudent in any man to acknowledge his own hand-writing, as ſome things have lately been puniſhed, which, ten or twelve years back, would have been eſteemed highly meritorious. *

Mr. Dundas. And what at *that time* might be meritorious, may *now* deſerve puniſhment.

A. It may be ſo; but I do not underſtand it.

Lord Loughborough. If Mr. Joyce will not anſwer the queſtions which are put to him, he muſt withdraw. †

With-

* This anſwer was a direct alluſion to the caſe of Mr. HOLT, who for reprinting an Addreſs originally publiſhed by the Aſſociations, of which Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Richmond were members, was ſentenced to two years impriſonment in Newgate, and a heavy fine.

See a very ſpirited pamphlet, entitled, "A Vindication of the Principles, &c. of the printer of the Newark Herald, by Daniel Holt."

† A *cloſe* impriſonment of ſix months has not induced me to regret my conduct before the Privy Council. To ſubmit to a ſeries of interrogatories where there is *no ſpecific charge, nor even accuſation*, is tamely to ſurrender a right, which no power can wreſt from the meaneſt individual. Many illuſtrious characters have cheerfully ſuffered every oppreſſion rather than be the means of introducing a ſyſtem by which arbitrary governments are ſuſtained.

Several of my fellow priſoners refuſed to be interrogated upon the ſame principle. There is no apology neceſſary for introducing in this place the examination of Mr. Bonney, a gentleman of profeſſional and irreproachable character; of manners the moſt mild and inoffenſive; firmly attached to the conſtitution of the country, and againſt whom it were impoſſible to adduce even a *ſuſpicion* of violence, much leſs a *charge* of TREASON.

MR. BONNEY'S EXAMINATION.

On Friday night at Eleven o'Clock, Mr. BONNEY was taken before the Privy Council, when the following converſation took place:

Mr. Reeves. What is your Chriſtian name?

Mr. Bonney. Sir, I am brought here on a warrant, which I ſuppoſe expreſſes my deſcription. It is, however, of no importance, my name is John Auguſtus.

Mr. Sec. Dundas. Mr. Bonney, you are brought here on a warrant charged with Treaſonable Practices, there having been many Seditious Meetings, and Reſolutions of the Conſtitutional and Correſponding Societies, relative to the Meeting of a Convention.

We

Withdrawing accordingly into an antichamber, I waited till five o'clock, when Mr. Fawkener informed me

We underſtand you are a Member of the Conſtitutional Society, and indeed an active one; you, therefore, are brought here to be examined, that you may clear yourſelf from the ſuſpicions againſt you. The Solicitor General will aſk you ſuch queſtions as may be neceſſary.

Mr. Bonney. Sir, you will give me leave to make a few obſervations. I believe I ſhall be able to ſhorten our buſineſs very much. It is now twenty-four hours ſince I was taken from my family upon a warrant, which I proteſt I do not clearly underſtand. I am ordered by it to be apprehended for Treaſonable Practices. What theſe words mean I cannot exactly make out. There are two explanations which it has ſtruck my mind may be applied to them---Treaſonable Practices may be intended to mean the practice of Treaſon---namely, Treaſon itſelf---or it may mean Seditious Practices, which muſt tend to Treaſon;---it is immaterial to me at preſent which of theſe two, in the explanation you put upon the words, for my anſwer to the charge is the ſame in both caſes. I declare to you, Sir, I declare to you, my Lords, who are appointed to ſit here and guard the welfare of your Country, and to God, that I never have been guilty of any Treaſonable Practices; that I do not know of any; for if I did, and had not revealed them, I know I ſhould have been equally guilty; nor have I ever been preſent at any Treaſonable Practices whatever. You have now, my Lords, my moſt ſolemn aſſertion againſt the charge made againſt me by this warrant, which is the only charge againſt me; for upon the face of the warrant there is no appearance of any other evidence to ſupport the charge. It is not ſtated in the warrant by whom I am charged, or that there is any charge at all againſt me. Your Lordſhips have indeed other means of evidence; my Papers are in your hands, but they, I believe, can teſtify nothing againſt me. You may have had witneſſes before you, but if they have alledged this charge, they muſt be falſe witneſſes. It is for you, however, to conſider what weight is to be given to their teſtimony, and we are then at iſſue. If your Lordſhips are in poſſeſſion of any evidence which can juſtify your committing me, I intreat your Lordſhips to do it; if, on the other hand, you have no ſuch evidence, I require, I demand, of your Lordſhips to diſcharge me. I wiſh you to believe it my intention to pay your Lordſhips every reſpect which a man of honour and a gentleman ought to ſhew to perſons in your ſituation; but I feel myſelf bound, eſpecially in theſe ſtrange times, to pay ſome reſpect to my own honour and my own feelings, and I cannot, on a charge thus brought forward, give an anſwer to any queſtion that may be put to me.

Mr. Dundas It is an *indulgence* to bring perſons here who are charged with theſe offences, to give them an opportunity to clear themſelves from ſuſpicion before they are committed; if you do not chooſe to be examined, you will ſtand in the ſame ſituation as if you had not been brought here.

Mr.

me it was their Lordſhips' pleaſure that I ſhould remain in the cuſtody of Mr. Ross until further orders, during which time I was to have no communication with any perſon, nor the uſe of pen, ink, or paper. On Thurſday I was again ordered to attend at the Council Chamber, where I waited nearly ſix hours without any farther hearing. Friday, Saturday, Sunday, and part of Monday, I ſpent at Mr. Roſs's, during which time no friend but my ſiſter was permitted to ſee me. I ſignified an earneſt deſire that I might be indulged with the ſight of Lord Mahon and his brother, concluding, from their tender age, that no objection could have been made; in this I was miſtaken, being informed that I could have no manner of communication with any part of the family of Earl Stanhope.

About two o'clock on Monday, the 19th of May, the Lords of the Privy Council ſent for Mr. Ross, who very ſoon returned with a coach, when he informed me I muſt go with him: I inquired to what place? He replied, he was not permitted to tell me.

We left Charles-ſtreet without delay, and on the road I requeſted him to ſhew me the warrant, by which he was removing me from his houſe: this, in conformity to

Mr. Bonney. That is my wiſh; I deſire to be committed, if you are in poſſeſſion of any evidence that will warrant you in your own minds to commit me; if not, I expect to be diſcharged.

Mr. Dundas. As to what you ſay about being committed or diſcharged, if you will not anſwer our queſtions, I do not ſee how we can diſcharge you: I underſtand you, that you will not anſwer any queſtions.

Mr. Bonney. Certainly I will not, Sir: it would be abſurd in me to attempt to clear myſelf from charges which I have never heard, and which are ſupported by evidence (if evidence is before you) that I am unacquainted with. I am ſolicitous to bring the matter to an iſſue, for it is a great inconvenience (I do not mean to myſelf, for my own perſonal inconvenience I care not) but to many perſons, with the care of whoſe concerns I am entruſted in the way of my profeſſion, that I am kept here a priſoner, and I wiſh you to come to a deciſion about me, that I may arrange the future management of their concerns.

Mr. Bonney was deſired to withdraw, and, in a few minutes, the Solicitor to the Treaſury informed him, that he muſt continue in cuſtody of the Meſſenger, and deſired that every poſſible accommodation might be given him. He was then taken to Webb's Hotel, Covent Garden, and committed on the ſame day, with other priſoners, to the Tower.

his inſtructions, he poſitively refuſed. At length we arrived at the TOWER GATE, when, it being uſeleſs any longer to affect myſtery, he ſaid he was to commit me to the cuſtody of the Governor of the TOWER.

The following is a copy of the warrant, which I afterwards obtained from the Gentleman Jailor of that fortreſs:

" Theſe are, in his Majeſty's name, to authoriſe and " require you to receive into your cuſtody the body of the " Reverend Jeremiah Joyce, herewith ſent you for High " Treaſon; and you are to keep him ſafe and cloſe until " he ſhall be delivered by due courſe of law; and for ſo " doing this ſhall be your ſufficient warrant. From the " Council Chamber at Whitehall, this 19th day of May, " 1794.

" *To our very good Lord the Marquis*
" *Cornwallis, Chief Governor of the*
" *Tower of London, or to his Deputy.*"

(Signed)

LOUGHBOROUGH, C.	GRENVILLE,
DORSET,	AMHERST,
MONTROSE,	HAWKESBURY,
SALISBURY,	AUCKLAND,
CARLISLE,	W. PITT,
CHATHAM,	H. DUNDAS,
CAMDEN,	R. P. ARDEN,
MORNINGTON,	S. DOUGLAS.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, I was conſigned to the care of two WARDERS,* at the Yeoman Porter's houſe, whoſe written orders were, that,

* The WARDERS are perſons appointed to ſhew the Armories, Jewel Office, and other curioſities in the Tower. They have alſo the charge of perſons confined for ſtate offences, for which each warder is allowed 17s. per week by government. The warder is not permitted to leave his priſoner by day or by night, without being firſt relieved. To each priſoner is alſo appointed a ſoldier to guard the outſide of the door, as the Warder is guardian within. Every evening the Gentleman Jailor attends to lock up the warders and priſoners; and repeats his viſits in the morning to open the door, and ſee that all is ſafe, of which he makes his daily report to the Governor.

Lodging is provided for each ſtate priſoner at one guinea per week, paid by government, who alſo make a weekly allowance to the priſoner, for his board, according to his *rank* in life. To the perſons now confined in the Tower 13s. 4d. is regularly paid every Monday morning.

" The ſeveral priſoners now in the Tower, confined " on a charge of High Treaſon, are not allowed com- " munication with any perſon, without an order from " his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council, notified " to the officer commanding in the Tower; nor is pen, " ink, paper, books, or newſpapers, to be permitted " the priſoners, without a ſpecial order."

(Signed) " J. YORKE."

" *May* 20, 1794."

By application to the Privy Council, books, pens, ink, paper, and newſpapers, were allowed, under certain reſtrictions, and ſome of my relations were admitted to viſit me twice a week, for two hours each time, in the preſence of the Gentleman Jailor, or his deputy.

After eight days reſidence at the Yeoman Porter's, I was removed to one of the TOWERS, which was originally intended, and frequently made uſe of, as a priſon houſe. In this ſituation, my window commanded the Tower-wharf, which certainly poſſeſſed many advantages, but at the ſame time ſubjected me, in the early part of my impriſonment, to the groſſeſt inſults from the paſſengers. The epithets of *Jacobin*, *Democrat*, *King-killer*, with others, in the moſt diſguſting and indecent language, were very liberally applied. This, however, gradually ſubſided, when, inſtead of outrage, the ſpectators evidently appeared to conſider me rather an object of pity.

In a few weeks I obtained the indulgence of walking upon the *leads* of the houſe, where I not only enjoyed all the advantages of the refreſhing breezes from the Thames, but had alſo the benefit of exerciſe and amuſement which a ſmall garden could afford.

Towards the end of July, application was made to the Lords of the Council, that I might be admitted to bail; it being well known that ſeveral perſons connected with the Societies, and who had been arreſted by warrants for *High Treaſon*, were at liberty, either on their own recognizance, or by the ſurety of their friends. To this requeſt the Privy Council did not condeſcend to make any anſwer.

My brother, to whom I am under the greateſt obligations through the whole of my impriſonment, immediately requeſted for me the liberty of walking within the

circuit of the Tower, which was, in a few days, granted to me, and all the priſoners, with the ſtricteſt injunctions that they ſhould not be permitted to ſpeak to each other, nor to any perſon, excepting the Warders who attended them.*

I ſhould not feel ſatisfied in concluding this narrative, without adding, that from COLONEL YORKE, the Governor of the Tower, we received every indulgence of which cloſe impriſonment would admit.

I ſhall now detain the reader while I make a few general obſervations on my own political conduct.

The principles of freedom which characterized our fore-fathers are certainly not of the order of the day. The doctrines which ſeated the Prince of Orange on the Britiſh Throne, and which have ſecured the crown to the preſent reigning family, are not only *unfaſhionable*, but have, in ſome inſtances, been puniſhed with unexampled rigour. †

* Copy of the Orders of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, given at the Council Chamber, Whitehall, the 30th of July, 1794.

"It is this day ordered by their Lordſhips, that the Governor, "or Deputy Governor, of his Majeſty's Tower of London, do "permit the priſoners, now in the ſaid Tower, to walk occaſion- "ally upon the parade, or the ramparts, or ſome other conveni- "ent place, within the circuit of the ſaid Tower; at ſuch times "as the Governor, or Deputy Governor, ſhall appoint, provided "they be attended each of them by a warder, and not ſuffered, "without ſpecial order, to ſpeak to one another, or with any "other perſon, than the warder ſo appointed to attend them."

Orders for the Warders, Auguſt 4, 1794.

"The warders attending on the ſtate priſoners are deſired to "pay the moſt particular attention to the orders of his Majeſty's "moſt honourable Privy Council of the 30th of laſt month, and "that no one may plead want of proper information, the *Yeoman "Porter*, in the preſence of the *Gentleman Jailor*, is to read the "order every Monday morning to the warders, before they are "put upon duty with the priſoners. The warders may be aſſured "any neglect of duty in their attendance will not be paſſed over. "In walking out with them, they are not to go into any houſe "either inhabited or empty, nor any of the armories, and that "they return to their lodgings at *retreat beating*."

By order of Col. YORKE, Deputy Governor of the Tower.

† The reader is particularly referred to the Sermons and Trials of the Rev. Wm. Winterbotham.

To

To theſe principles, as thoſe upon which all juſt government is founded, I have never ſcrupled to avow an open attachment;—an attachment which is not the effect of ſudden impreſſions, but the conſequence of inſtructions which I imbibed in early youth. I can remember nothing of earlier date than the honeſt indignation of a late highly-reſpected parent, againſt the meaſures taken to enſlave our brethren acroſs the Atlantic. From him I learned to conſider the cauſe of America as the cauſe of MAN.

His gratitude to the oppoſers of that unnatural and malignant war was unbounded. The names of CHATHAM, CAMDEN, and their co-adjutors, (the Jacobins of that day) were dear to his heart, and the continual theme of his praiſe.

From that period, then, I may date my attachment to the principles of freedom; it increaſed in proportion to my years; nor can I call to my recollection a moment in my life when my feelings were not abhorrent of arbitrary power, and the means by which it is ſupported. This being the caſe, it will not appear ſtrange, that, at a period when the diſcuſſions on the ſubject of Civil Liberty became almoſt univerſal, my attention ſhould be forcibly drawn to the point in diſpute. Sullen, indeed, muſt be the diſpoſition of that man who can ſtand unmoved amidſt the diſcordant and claſhing opinions which are the ſubjects of debate in the preſent day.

To the ſound of Freedom's voice my heart always vibrated; and, imagining that the conſtitution of my country was built upon the generous principles of Liberty, and that this was ſtill the land for free inquiry, I never heſitated to avow with frankneſs and boldneſs, all my political opinions.

What I felt myſelf, I thought it my duty to make others feel; I endeavoured, therefore, to diffuſe conſtitutional knowledge among my fellow-citizens: and the more effectually to do this, I joined the SOCIETY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION, the publications of which had been put into my hands, and to the principles of which I moſt cordially aſſented.

Conſidering how much abuſe has been heaped upon that Aſſociation, it may not be improper to inſert an extract from their firſt report.

"In

" In the venerable Conſtitution handed down to us " through a long ſucceſſion of ages, this is the baſis and " vital principle, LAWS TO BIND ALL, MUST BE AS- " SENTED TO BY ALL."

" As every Engliſhman has an equal inheritance in " thoſe Laws, and that Conſtitution which has been pro- " vided for their defence, it is, therefore, neceſſary that " every Engliſhman ſhould know *what that Conſtitution* " *is*; *when it is ſafe*; *and when it is endangered.*"

" To diffuſe this knowledge univerſally through the " realm, to circulate it through every village and hamlet, " and even to introduce it into the humble dwelling of " the cottager, is the wiſh and the hopes of this Society. " They truſt it is a wiſh that will be approved by all good " men, and that it is a hope not ill-founded in a country " whoſe love of Liberty is its characteriſtic; and where " every thing generous and in favour of that Liberty is " congenial with the warmeſt feelings of the People."

To promote Conſtitutional Knowledge, then, among their countrymen, appears to have been the great object of this Society in its inſtitution. And if the ſocial compact be intended for the benefit of *all*, without diſtinction of rank, the human mind cannot imagine an object of higher importance than that intended by the " SOCIETY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION."

It was reſerved for the author of the " *Reflections*,"* to vilify and calumniate the principle, which delights in the diffuſion of the bleſſings of knowledge, among the lower and more numerous ranks of ſociety. Perverted muſt be his mind, who can ſuppoſe a man leſs fitted for the *duties* of life, by being able to comprehend the *rights* to which he has a claim. In every ſituation, he who knows *what* and *where* his intereſt is, will be careful to purſue and promote it by every means in his power. Let him feel the importance and advantages which reſult from the Laws and Conſtitution of his country, and he will have the ſtrongeſt motives to obey the one and defend the other. Let him but exerciſe his reaſon and underſtanding, in matters of national concern, and he will enjoy a ſatisfaction in ſubmitting to the authority of the Law. Inſtead of oppoſing, he will reſpect and venerate the powers

* Mr. Burke.

which

which hold the reins of government, as neceſſary to ſecure the general happineſs.

A diffuſion of Political Knowledge, then, appears to be an object of the utmoſt importance, in ſecuring the ſtability of all good governments.—To purſue theſe reflections farther, would have the appearance of a defence of my own conduct, or that of the Society of which I was a member, on which I do *not* mean to enter. An impartial inveſtigation by a Jury of the country will, I doubt not, do ample juſtice to both.

As this narrative is drawn up previouſly to, and intended for publication immediately after my trial, I have endeavoured to render it as free as poſſible from any obſervations which might tend to bias the public opinion. The facts are ſtated without comment. Many circumſtances are omitted, which tended to aggravate the rigour of cloſe impriſonment; being anxious only to exhibit the general outlines of thoſe ſteps which have been taken in the preſent Proſecutions for High Treaſon.

TOWER, *Oct.* 21, 1794.

To what was written in the Tower ſhould be added, that late in the evening of the 23d of October, information was given to the priſoners, that on the next day they would be removed to the jail of Newgate. Accordingly at eight o'clock in the morning of the 24th, the Sheriffs, attended by the City-marſhals, conſtables, &c. came to the Tower, and demanded by a writ of habeas corpus, the bodies of Tho. Hardy, John Horne Tooke, John Auguſtus Bonney, Stewart Kyd, Jeremiah Joyce, John Richter, and John Thelwall, who being eſcorted to the other gate by a guard of ſoldiers, were delivered by the Governor of the Tower to the cuſtody of Mr. Sheriff Eamer and Mr. Sheriff Burnett, upon receiving proper receipts. About ten o'clock they were each provided with ſeparate rooms in Newgate, which were very inferior to thoſe in the Tower.

On the 25th, the perſons above-named, together with Tho. Holcroft and John Baxter, were taken to the Seſſions Houſe in the Old Bailey, and arraigned upon one indictment, copies of which had been previouſly delivered to each of them; to which, after a few obſervations, they all pleaded *Not guilty*, and put themſelves on their country for trial.

The

The trial of Mr. Hardy commenced on Tuesday, Oct. 28, and, contrary to the custom in criminal cases, continued, with adjournments, until Nov. 5, when he was *acquitted*. The Court then adjourned to the 17th of Nov. when the trial of Mr. Tooke commenced, which was concluded at a quarter past eight in the evening of the 22d, with the verdict of NOT GUILTY. "The burst of "exclamation that took place *in the Court*, upon this ver- "dict, and which the judges neither tried to repress or "reprove, was the signal of acquittal to the multitudes "*without*. A sympathetic shout broke from the mass of "the people, which was caught and echoed to every part "of the metropolis in an instant. No telegraphe—no ar- "tificial organ could convey the news with the electrical "velocity of their enthusiasm. It was known at the re- "motest corners of the town in a minute after the event, "and the satisfaction was as general as the interest which "was felt in the cause."—*Morn. Chron. Nov.* 24, 1794.

On Saturday, Nov. 29, about ten o'clock in the evening, two of Mr. White's clerks delivered a letter to me, and one of the same kind to Mr. Bonney, Mr. Kyd, and Mr. Holcroft, of which the following is a copy:

"The KING v. THOS. HARDY and Others.

"*Nov.* 29, 1794.

"Sir,

"I am directed by Mr. Attorney General to inform "you, that it is his intention that you should be brought "up to the Bar of the *Old Bailey* on Monday morning "next, and that a Jury should then be sworn for your "trial, but that he does not then propose to give evi- "dence against you upon this indictment.

"Signed

"JOS. WHITE,

"Solicitor to the Treasury."

"*To* JEREMIAH JOYCE,

"*One of the Defendants in the above*

"*Indictment.*"

The

The Court having met at nine o'clock on Monday, Dec. 1, in the Seſſions-houſe of the Old Bailey, Mr. Attorney General deſired that JOHN AUGUSTUS BONNEY, STEWART KYD, JEREMIAH JOYCE, and THOMAS HOLCROFT, ſhould be put to the bar.

The following gentlemen were then impannelled and ſworn as the Jury, to whom the priſoners in the uſual form were given in cuſtody; viz. CHARLES DIGBY; ROB. BATSON; ALEX. TROTTER; ROB. MELLISH; WM. HARWOOD; ROB. LEWIS; JAMES HAYGARTH; MARK HUDSON; HENRY BULLOCK; HUGH RONALDS; JOHN POWSEY; and THOMAS HARRISON.

Mr. Attorney General then ſpoke to the following effect:

Gentlemen of the Jury.—The laſt time I had the honour of attending, in my public capacity, in this Court, I addreſſed the jury for the purpoſe of ſtating to them the grounds of the proſecution, and the evidence which I had to produce. That jury, in the exerciſe of their conſtitutional functions, found the accuſed *not guilty*: I take it for granted they did their duty. After this acquittal it became me to conſider what I ought to do, conſiſtently with my duty to the public, and the gentlemen at the bar; and after mature conſideration, and conſultation with other perſons, I have thought it a duty which I owe to the public, and to the gentlemen at your bar, as part of that public, to aſk for a verdict of acquittal; I ſhall not, therefore, trouble you with any evidence.

Chief Juſtice.—Gentlemen of the Jury; as there has been no evidence called on the part of the crown, you will, of courſe, find the priſoners not guilty.

The jury immediately pronounced a verdict of NOT GUILTY.

Meſſrs. Bonney, Kyd, and Joyce, retired from the bar, having previouſly agreed, according to the advice of their council, to maintain perfect ſilence, unleſs any thing ſhould be ſaid by the Attorney General or the Court which might provoke a reply. Mr. Holcroft attempted to addreſs the jury, but after ſome altercation with the Court, he was obliged to leave the bar without effecting his purpoſe.

Thus, after twenty-nine weeks impriſonment as ſevere and rigorous as could be inflicted, have I been diſcharged with the *form* of a trial only. A circumſtance which will juſtify a few reflections upon the ſeverity, not to ſay, the cruelty, of my caſe.

My Lord Chief Juſtice informed Mr. Holcroft, "That no man ſtanding in his ſituation ought to complain of injuſtice, becauſe he *accuſes his country of injuſtice* when he makes that complaint."—It is not my intention to paſs cenſure, or to ſuggeſt diſreſpectful inſinuations againſt any part of the trial by jury. It is that proviſion of the Engliſh conſtitution which merits all the eulogiums that were ever beſtowed upon it: in the language of Mr. Juſtice Blackſtone, "It is the glory of "the Engliſh law." If, however, the principle of trial by jury, in all its proviſions, be thus excellent, and the adminiſtration of juſtice by the exerciſe of it be thus impartial, the public may conclude, that againſt the perſons acquitted, there muſt have been ſome ſtrong appearance of criminality;—ſome violent ſuſpicions of guilt: or certainly *true* bills would not have been found againſt them by the Grand Jury. And it has been aſſerted in the Houſe of Commons, that "*It was impoſſible to ſay "that after a Grand Jury had found a bill againſt them, "that they were as innocent as if no ſuch bill had been "found.*"*—Convinced, however, that the reverſe of this aſſertion is the truth;—and fully perſuaded that no ſuſpicion could have attached to me, from a fair interpretation of my conduct; I may, I truſt, without any degree of diſreſpect to my country, or to the Grand Jury who repreſent the country, endeavour to account for the finding of a *true* bill againſt me upon a principle very different from that of criminality.

To this end I need not refer to the various *alarms* invented and employed to excite the public againſt myſelf and others during our impriſonment; nor to thoſe prejudices which the proſtituted daily prints endeavoured to foſter. Nor need I detail the different methods made uſe of to perſuade the peaceable inhabitants of this country,

* See Mr. Wyndham's ſpeech as reported in the Courier, Jan. 6, 1795.

that

that *our* liberty, or even *our* exiſtence, was incompatible with the ſecurity of *their* property, and the ſafety of *their* lives.* But it may be obſerved, that the Act of Parliament which declared that a traiterous and deteſtable conſpiracy did exiſt in theſe realms, was, of itſelf, ſufficient to bias the Grand Jury againſt the perſons implicated in ſo heavy a charge; and to prevent their exerciſing that diſpaſſionate inquiry into the merits of the caſe, which they would otherwiſe have done.

It may alſo be aſked, conſiſtently with the moſt rigid decorum, why a *ſpecial* commiſſion was iſſued to bring us to trial, when the buſineſs might have regularly proceeded by a common commiſſion of Gaol Delivery? Was it to add peculiar ſolemnity to the proceedings, and thereby to inſinuate the extreme magnitude of the danger? Or was it merely to afford Chief Juſtice Eyre an opportunity of impreſſing the minds of the gentlemen of the Grand Jury with the extraordinary doctrines contained in his charge? Though there might be other important reaſons for this method of proceeding, yet, I doubt not, thoſe which I have mentioned had their weight with the proſecutors in this eventful cauſe. Nor will the candid reader think, that too much is aſſumed, in ſuppoſing that a ſingle paſſage in the Chief Juſtice's charge, to ſay nothing of the other parts, might have more influence on the minds of thoſe to whom it was delivered, than the dictum of any man ought to have. The paſſage to which I refer is near the concluſion, where he adviſes, "that "if the caſe be new and doubtful, it may be fitting that "it ſhould be put into a judicial courſe of inquiry, that "it may receive a *ſolemn adjudication*, whether it will "or will not amount to HIGH TREASON, in order to "which, the bills muſt be found to be true bills."

* It muſt be in the memory of every one, that during the ſummer 1794, to irritate and inflame the paſſions againſt the priſoners charged with High Treaſon, an immenſe quantity of ſmall pamphlets, ſongs, hand-bills, and engravings of the moſt diabolical kind, were diſperſed gratis, or ſold at low prices, through every ſtreet in the metropolis. And it is equally notorious that the reports of the Secret Committee were ſent, free of all expenſe, even that of carriage, to all parts of the kingdom. Theſe facts are worth recording, but they ſtand in need of no comment or obſervation.

Whether this be language ſuited to the character of an impartial judge, I will not inquire. It is ſufficient to my purpoſe, if it be calculated to convey to the minds of the Grand Jury a falſe impreſſion reſpecting the real nature of their duty, and to *incline* them to the finding true bills whenever doubt ſhould ariſe. A preponderance on this ſide of the queſtion would be particularly injurious, if the perſons ſo addreſſed were not properly acquainted with the rights and powers of grand jurors, or not ſufficiently converſant with the law of treaſon. Nothing, it is true, will apologize for thoſe who can reſign the powers of their own underſtanding to the dictates of authority; or who, in a caſe ſo momentous as that which we are conſidering, do not uſe every mean in their power to find out the line of rectitude, for there can be but one ſuch line; but one rule by which a Grand Jury ſhould be guided, and which does not appear very difficult to be aſcertained. My Lord Coke, aſſigning a reaſon why counſel were not originally allowed to the defence of perſons charged with high treaſon, ſays, "*The teſtimonies* "*and proofs of the offence ought to be ſo clear and manifeſt* "AS THERE CAN BE NO DEFENCE OF IT." And it has been generally underſtood, to be the buſineſs of a Grand Jury to return thoſe *only true bills* upon which the evidence given will be ſufficient to convict the perſon accuſed, if, upon his trial, it ſtands uncontradicted. Widely different is this from the doctrine laid down in the charge of the Lord Chief Juſtice.

There is another circumſtance which may account, in ſome meaſure, for the finding of true bills againſt myſelf and others. Mr. WHITE, the ſolicitor for the crown was, contrary to common uſage, admitted to the Grand Jury during the time that the bills were finding. Whether or not he uſed any undue influence upon the witneſſes called to ſubſtantiate the charges, or miſconſtrued any of the written evidence, is more than I can determine. If he poſſeſs the common feelings of humanity; if ever he knew the ſenſibility of a ſon or a brother; of a father or huſband; he would not have been the inſtrument to have expoſed to the anxiety of a public trial, perſons againſt whom he muſt have known, guilt could not have been made out. He would not thus have trampled on the

the peace, nor ſported with the feelings of their deareſt connections. Still, however, the irregularity of the meaſure gives room for conjecture, and affords to perſons in my ſituation grounds for ſuppoſing that ſome methods, not neceſſary, at leaſt, to the ends of public juſtice, were employed in obtaining the bills to be found *true* bills. A confirmation of this, is the ſurpriſe which ſeveral witneſſes for the Crown manifeſted upon hearing that the bills were *not* thrown out. Their evidence reſpecting me, which I have been enabled to aſcertain, was completely in my favour; and I never doubted but that *every perſon* who was examined to my conduct and character muſt have ſpoken to my advantage. I do not mean, in this aſſertion, to include the *ſpies*, becauſe they exiſted by plots, and therefore, if there were no danger, they muſt create alarm, and might as readily miſinform the Gentlemen of the Grand Jury, as they had already done their employers.

But by the evidence given on the trials of Meſſrs. Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall, it does not appear that I had the misfortune to have been known to either Taylor, or Groves, or Goſling, or Alexander, or Lynam.*

There is, however, a circumſtance which I muſt not omit, and which, it has been ſaid, had its weight in finding the bills: it is the intercepted letter, a copy of which is inſerted p. 6. But it would, indeed, be matter of aſtoniſhment to ſuppoſe, for a moment, that a letter of that kind ſhould have been, *of itſelf*, ſufficient to have ſent me into a criminal court, there to be arraigned, and tried for my life: it cannot, for a moment, be be-

* In ſpeaking of the evidence of theſe men, if I may call them men, without diſgracing human nature, I follow the reports of the trials, as detailed in the public newſpapers; and from them I found but two facts laid to my charge, except being a member of the "*Society for Conſtitutional Information.*" The firſt was, that Edwards depoſed, "that Joyce had given him a ticket "to dine on the 2d of May at the Crown and Anchor." The other, that Goſling depoſed, "that Baxter reported, that Joyce "ſaid there was no fear for STONE, as the Privy Council would "not get any thing out of him by intimidation." Mr. Baxter has been applied to, reſpecting the truth of this aſſertion, and, under his own hand, he declares it to be a falſehood, and that he never mentioned my name in any ſuch connection.

 lieved,

lieved, unleſs it be underſtood, at the ſame time, that a perſon preſent ſhould have pledged himſelf to prove before the petit jury that it was really connected with a conſpiracy; and ſuch, for aught I know to the contrary, might be the caſe: for it has been aſſerted by one, at leaſt, of the Grand Jury, that the evidence produced before them was totally different from that given on the trial.

In the courſe of Mr. Tooke's trial, a full and juſt explanation was given of the above-mentioned letter by Mr. Sharp; by which it appeared that the meaning of the query was both "*ſimple and innocent*," as I had aſſerted might be the caſe, before the Privy Council. And it was ſaid by him, that it referred merely to the preparation of a liſt of ſinecures which had been engroſſed by the miniſter and his friends; and which Mr. Tooke was to have collected from the Court Calendar. After this declaration of Mr. Sharp, no perſon acquainted with him will aſk for any other evidence. But it having been doubted whether his explanation would account for the language made uſe of in the letter; and as I believe it was the only ſerious charge alledged againſt me, I ſhall introduce here the evidence which was ſubpœnaed, and which would moſt certainly have been called, had I been put on my trial, to prove the accuracy of Mr. Sharp's depoſition.

One gentleman would have depoſed that he breakfaſted in company with Mr. Tooke and myſelf on Friday the 9th of May, when it was agreed that Mr. Tooke ſhould collect and arrange the liſt of ſinecures, if I would procure a Red Book. Another witneſs would have proved that on the ſame day I borrowed a Red Book of him. Two other perſons would have ſworn that they ſaw this liſt tranſcribing at Wimbledon on the 11th of May. Another witneſs would have depoſed that I called on him on the 12th with the letter, in my way to the Poſt Office, at the ſame time informing him to what it alluded; and he would likewiſe have ſworn, that on the next day I again ſaw him, told him that the letter had *not* been received at Wimbledon, and that it was probably intercepted by Government. The gentlemen at whoſe houſe Mr. Tooke, myſelf, and ſeveral others were to have met,

met, on *the Thurſday* mentioned in the query, would have depoſed, that we had been engaged nearly a fortnight before to have dined with him on that day; that Meſſrs. Tooke, Sharp, &c. did dine with him, and that part of the converſation during the dinner was upon the ſaid letter.—This evidence, I preſume, would have been abundantly ſufficient to have ſatisfied any jury, that the only conſpiracy to which this letter referred, was a conſpiracy to inform our countrymen in *what manner*, and *upon whom*, the public money is beſtowed.

It has been aſked, by ſome very reſpectable friends, if the meaning of the letter was ſo *perfectly harmleſs*, why not explain it before the Privy Council? To which, I reply, that every part of my political career was equally remote from criminality; and, therefore, if I had explained in one inſtance, there could have been no reaſon why I ſhould not have anſwered every queſtion;* than which, I apprehend, nothing can be more injurious to the Conſtitution under which we live. Conſequently the inquiry will come to this: ſhall a perſon, againſt whom there is no charge upon oath, nor even accuſation, ſuffer himſelf to be interrogated, and thereby be the means of introducing a ſyſtem hoſtile to the freedom of the ſubject; or, by maintaining a reſpectful ſilence, riſk the injuries of impriſonment? I decided upon the latter, and truſt that, in a ſimilar ſituation, I ſhould again determine upon the ſame ſide of the queſtion; preferring, as I ought, the evils which might be inflicted on

* By referring to my examination, it will be found that I declined anſwering whether I was a member of the *Society for Conſtitutional Information*, a queſtion of no ſort of importance, as the fact was notorious, and could have been proved by twenty perſons.—Before I was introduced to the Council Chamber, I had made up my mind; *I was not guilty myſelf;—I knew of no criminality attaching to others*, and therefore I determined to anſwer no interrogatories.—A circumſtance which was *not* peculiar to my caſe, ought to be mentioned.—When my Brother came to inquire after me, he was not permitted to ſee me; but was told *that I had behaved with very great propriety before the Privy Council, and had anſwered every queſtion.* Similar aſſertions, *equally true*, were inſerted in ſeveral miniſterial prints. The reaſon for this muſt be obvious. Many other falſe reports were in circulation, in the early period of my impriſonment; but as I cannot trace them to any diſtinct authority, they are not entitled to notice.

myſelf,

myſelf, rather than ſet a precedent for violating the beſt principles of Engliſh Liberty.

By making choice, as I did, of impriſonment, to perſonal freedom, I was not ignorant that I ſhould be liable to a thouſand bitter invectives. I foreſaw the calumnies which I muſt endure from the intereſted and the prejudiced. But, conſcious of the rectitude of my own intentions, and of the purity of all my political acts, I calmly looked forward to the time when invective muſt loſe its force, and calumny give place to applauſe. The ſeaſon which I anticipated is arrived; and I know that I have nothing to dread from thoſe prejudices which are ſometimes apt to be connected with a perſon once accuſed and indicted. The *legal* diſgrace which I have undergone has not lowered me in the eſtimation of my former friends, with an exception or two; I have met with a moſt cordial reception from all thoſe with whom I was in any degree previouſly acquainted. Inſtead of coolneſs on the part of my friends, I have received the moſt flattering proofs of attachment and regard: inſtead of avoiding me as a ſuſpected character, I have been welcomed and entertained as an injured and perſecuted man. In ſhort, I have experienced the truth of the maxim lately mentioned by Mr. Fox, "*that it is one of the qualities of our nature "to aſcribe merit where we ſee perſecution.*"

I will not omit this opportunity of publicly expreſſing my thanks to the Rev. Thos. Belſham, of Hackney; and to the Rev. George Lewis, afternoon preacher at Carter-lane, for the handſome and generous manner in which they brought me again before the public, by inviting me, immediately after my acquittal, to preach to their reſpective congregations. Nor can I ever reflect, but with ſentiments of unfeigned reſpect and gratitude, upon the reception which I met with from Earl Stanhope and the family of that Nobleman. I have no words by which I can expreſs my feelings for the kind attention ſhewn me.*

I might

* I make no apology for inſerting an account of the manner in which the termination to the trials for High Treaſon was celebrated at CHEVENING HOUSE. It is taken from the Morning Chronicle,

I might here have put an end to this Account, but the bitter invectives and groundleſs aſſertions which have

Chronicle, to which, from its accuracy, it was probably ſent by one of the gueſts.

" On Tueſday evening Lord Stanhope gave an entertainment, at his ſeat at Chevening in Kent, to his neighbours and tenants, to celebrate the triumph of Liberty and Juſtice, in the honourable acquittal of Mr. Joyce, the tutor of his ſons, and the other perſons indicted with him for High Treaſon.

" About 400 perſons of both ſexes, who were invited, beſides a number of gentlemen who aſſembled from diſtant parts of the county, experienced the moſt hearty and hoſpitable reception.—At eight o'clock they were introduced into the ball-room, the upper end of which was illuminated with variegated lamps, arranged in the form of letters, to expreſs the

RIGHTS OF *JURIES*.

" Immediately on his entrance, his Lordſhip addreſſed the company, in a ſpeech well adapted to illuſtrate the triumphs they had met to celebrate, and productive of loud and heart-felt applauſe.

" Mr. Joyce afterwards expreſſed his acknowledgments, on account of the marks of approbation which his name had received during the preceding addreſs, and aſſerted his determination to purſue ſuch a courſe of political conduct as ſhould deſerve that approbation.

" A ball then commenced; and five other rooms were opened for the entertainment of the company. In the ſeveral apartments the joy on the occaſion was general, though expreſſed in different forms; and his Lordſhip and his family largely partook of, and diffuſed the ſpirit of happineſs. Among the variety which was aſſembled, the Earl appeared the affable and equal Friend of all, like the amiable Father of a vaſt family, manifeſting unaffected kindneſs, and receiving, in return, reſpectful affection.

" About twelve o'clock near 200 of the gueſts accompanied him to the ſupper-rooms, which were ornamented with laurel, and in which an excellent cold collation was plentifully and elegantly ſerved up. After a variety of appropriate toaſts and ſongs, the party retired, to give place to others at the tables, and the dancing was reſumed, and continued till ſix o'clock on Wedneſday morning.

" The company then departed, equally gratified with their entertainment, and happy in the cauſe of it. It was a feſtival conducted with a liberality ſuitable to its occaſion. It was a diſplay of old Engliſh hoſpitality, revived with the beſt characteriſtic of Engliſhmen——the love of Liberty. It was

" The feaſt of reaſon, and the flow of ſoul,"

rejoicing in the emancipation of Innocence and Public Spirit—in the victories of Truth and Juſtice—and in the rights, the powers, and the triumphs of Engliſh Juries.

 been

been lately applied to the perſons *acquitted* of the charge of High Treaſon, demand that ſome notice ſhould be taken of them by thoſe immediately concerned. And where is the inhabitant of this iſland who is *not* concerned? Where is the man, who, after what has happened, can be ſure that he is not marked as the next victim to defeated rage;—that he ſhall not be arreſted under pretence of "*Treaſonable Practices*;"—impriſoned and tried;—and that, after he is honourably acquitted by his country, ſhall not receive, as a recompence for his ſufferings, the diſgraceful epithet of an "*acquitted felon?*"

The individual, who, by ſuch language, could attempt freſh injuries againſt perſons who have already endured irreparable evils, might have been paſſed over with that contemptuous ſilence which his late apoſtaſy merits; had he not been ſupported in his aſſertions by perſons whoſe character is more diſtinguiſhed, and to whom part of the public is more likely to pay a reſpectful, perhaps a ſubmiſſive deference.* There are, however, I truſt, but very few, beyond the walls of that houſe in which this declamation was uttered, who will not abhor ſuch conduct; who will not join to reprobate it as cruel and indecent.

Is it not ſufficient to drag men from their lawful profeſſions—to ſeize upon their papers, under a pretence of Treaſon, but where there was no accuſation—to commit them to ſolitary confinement, becauſe they refuſe to be interrogated—to keep them ſeven months ſhut up from all intercourſe with mankind—to put them to the heavy expenſe of ſupporting themſelves, and providing means for their defence; and, after having incurred theſe charges, to refuſe bringing them to public trial?

It might have been imagined that this treatment would have ſatisfied the moſt violent enemy; and that he would not have ſought occaſion to brand the perſons thus injured with the opprobrious epithet of "acquitted felons;" or to charge them with a ſpecies of "*moral guilt*" which no human being can define or comprehend.

* See debates in the Houſe of Commons, Dec. 30, 1794, particularly the ſpeeches of Mr. Windham, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Serjeant Adair, and Mr. Solicitor General.

As one of thoſe upon whom this mark of "moral guilt" has been ſet—as one of the number of "*acquitted felons*," I have felt thoſe ſentiments of indignation which a mind *not ſteeled to oppreſſion* muſt feel.

But in reply to this contumely, I obſerve that by Mr. Attorney General, who certainly acted by the advice of his *Majeſty's Miniſters*, I was diſcharged with only the form of a trial, and that, for a very obvious reaſon—becauſe both *He* and *They* were well aware that, after Mr. Sharp's interpretation of the intercepted Letter, there was not a ſingle fact that could be alledged againſt me. They had, *then*, no guilt to lay to my charge, unleſs criminality neceſſarily attaches itſelf to him who is deſirous of obtaining, by legal methods, a reform in the Commons Houſe of Parliament; and if that had been the *overt* act laid in the indictment, free from the compaſſing the death of the Sovereign, I ſhould have inſtantly pleaded guilty. There were no *perjured ſpies* to charge me with violent expreſſions; none even of *thoſe wretches* who would depoſe that I had been a propoſer of arms, or a promoter of violent meaſures. And without the evidence of theſe men, how could any charge have been ſubſtantiated? I would aſk Mr. White, I would appeal to Mr. Fawkener, or to any other clerk of the Privy Council, who was employed to take down the examinations of perſons brought before that Right Honourable Board, whether there was an individual, who depoſed any facts reſpecting me, that did not ſpeak in favour of my character, and teſtify to the legality of the whole of my political conduct? They will not, they cannot aſſert to the contrary. Nevertheleſs, one right honourable Gentleman has branded me with the epithet of an "*acquitted felon*;" and others have inſinuated, nay, aſſerted, that I am *morally*, though not *legally* guilty.

Happy would it be for *them*, and happy might it be for the other *right honourable proſecutors*, could they repoſe on their pillows with the conſciouſneſs of as little *political Guilt* as the writer of theſe remarks. The innocent blood of unnumbered thouſands does not trouble his thoughts by day; nor haunt his ſlumbers by night. The miſery of the cottager and manufacturer does not op-

preſs *his* mind; but as it affects every humane breaſt, with the *fruitleſs* deſire to relieve their wants, and to ſooth their diſtreſſes. The mournful complaints of the diſconſolate widow and helpleſs orphan, for the loſs of a huſband and a father to ſupport and protect them, will not riſe up in judgment againſt *him*. *His* ambition was not to render himſelf powerful, or rich, at the expenſe of his fellow-citizens; *he* never gave his voice to oppreſs a valiant people, ſtruggling for infant Liberty. His only anxiety was, by increaſing knowledge, the beſt and ſureſt foundation of virtue, to render the ſituation of his countrymen more eaſy and more honourable; to ſee the rights of the People more reſpected, and their happineſs more ſecure.

For theſe Mr. Pitt was once a noble champion. To *him* they yielded honour, authority, and abundant profit. For theſe alſo have *I* been an humble advocate. To *me* they have been the ſource of the moſt unmerited calumny; of cruel impriſonment, and no inconſiderable expenſe. I am however conſoled by the conviction that, whenever the conduct of the reformers of 1782, who have ſince apoſtatiſed from their principles, ſhall be compared, by an enlightened and impartial public, with the exertions of Thomas Hardy and his co-adjutors, then will the country readily do juſtice to the characters of thoſe who are now ſufferers in the cauſe of Freedom: *then* will the people at large bear their unanimous teſtimony that the conſpiracy, of which we have heard ſo much, was not a conſpiracy *by* the priſoners, but *againſt* them; againſt their Liberties and their Lives. This opinion the impartial Hiſtorian will record; and he will have no difficulty in diſcovering that the deſtruction of a few unconnected individuals was not the only object which their enemies propoſed. This was but the prelude to a mighty and awful ſtroke aimed at every thing that was dear to the ſocial intereſts of mankind. JUSTICE has averted the blow. The *innocent* have been ſaved from premeditated deſtruction; and the Liberties of the country will ſtand on a firmer baſis than before.

That our proſecutors ſhould ſtill be anxious to hold up our characters as criminal, can be no matter of ſurpriſe

priſe to thoſe who remember "THAT THEY NE'ER PARDON WHO COMMIT WRONG."

Beſides, upon the *innocence*, or *guilt*, of the perſons acquitted, depends the credit due to his Majeſty's miniſters, who were the leaders of the *ſecret committee*, upon whoſe faith the three eſtates of the realm declared, by a ſolemn act, that a *traiterous and deteſtable conſpiracy did exiſt*. The *accuſed* have, therefore, either been acquitted without reaſon, that is, are "*acquitted felons*," or the *accuſers* have not merited all the confidence which Parliament have repoſed in them. Which is the more probable might not ſeem fit or decent for *me* to determine; but it may be collected from a very obvious conſideration.—The Juries, who had the whole evidence laid before them, who ſaw the picture with all its colouring, and who painfully inveſtigated every part of the buſineſs, declared thoſe perſons *Not Guilty* whom the Crown Lawyers ſuppoſed to be the *principals* in the Conſpiracy. While the members of the ſecret committee ſaw but the dark ſide of the picture, and drawn by perſons intereſted in rendering the ſhadowing as black as poſſible. They heard evidence *againſt* the priſoners only, and that from men of abandoned principles and ruined characters—from *Spies*, who themſelves were attempting ſome ſhew of violence in the Societies, to induce their employers to be more liberal in their hire.

Let, then, an unprejudiced public decide whether the perſons *acquitted* ought to be eſteemed as "*acquitted felons*;" or whether the authors of ſuch aſſertions have not pronounced them as an apology for their own conduct, which, they muſt be ſenſible, merits the indignation of an injured people.

Before I lay down my pen, it is neceſſary for me to declare, that I never thought it ſufficient to be merely acquitted of *Legal* guilt. If, in any ſenſe, I have deſerved *ill* of my country—if, as a member of the Legiſlature has publicly aſſerted, thoſe who are acquitted of the charge of High Treaſon are ſtill to be regarded as "*acquitted felons*; if they are ſtill to be held up to the world as "*morally guilty*," I, who am one of them, could have no longer a claim to the countenance of the Society which I have injured, or which I meant

to

to injure. If I had been acquitted through the *forbearance* of the Crown Lawyers, the public, who do not know me, might have believed me a dangerous member of the community. To lie under such an imputation, would, to my mind, be worse than death. Rather would I meet a public execution, with all its horrors, than live a suspected man. I have ever had an ambition of deserving well of my fellow-citizens, and not to be esteemed merely innocent, much less to endure the idea which must attach to a doubtful character.

Let me then aver, and perhaps my assertions may now obtain equal credit with those of my prosecutors, that, after deliberate examination, I am conscious of no *political* act of my life to which criminality can be imputed, or that could have any tendency to introduce confusion or anarchy into the country. Of Pikes, or of Guns, or of revolutionary Knives, I never heard in the Society to which I belonged. Violence, as appears from the evidence on the trials, was the creature of the spies.

In the "*Society for Constitutional Information*" there were none of those miscreants, consequently there was no charge against it respecting force of arms. Of that Society I have been a member since April 1792, and, as far as I know, all its proceedings were rendered as notorious as the public Journals could make them. They had no secrets, for there was nothing to conceal; their aim was publicity. Of that Society I am still a member, nor shall prosecution, or persecution, though attended with expense and imprisonment, ever deter me from pursuing those important objects which may eventually produce a reform in the Commons House of Parliament.

CHEVENING HOUSE,
Jan. 15, 1795.

FINIS.

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